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THE BEGINNING OF MARRIAGE¹

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It is written in the Book of Genesis that Abraham, the son of Terah, took unto wife Sarah (xi, 29), the daughter of his father but not the daughter of his mother (xx, 12), who was barren, yet, by a miracle, in her old age bore unto him a son Isaac (xviii, 14; xxi, 1-3). It is written that the patriarch sent a servant into the land of his forefathers, Syria, to find among his kindred a wife for Isaac (xxiv, 4), and that the servant found Rebekah, daughter of Bethuel, Abraham's brother's son (xxiv, 15) by Milcah, Abraham's brother's daughter (xi, 29), and put on her a golden earring and bracelets of gold (xxiv, 22), and gave her jewels of silver and jewels of gold and raiment, and gave also to her brother Laban and to her mother precious things (xxiv, 53), and carried her into the southern country, where Isaac took her to wife; and she was barren, yet, by a miracle, bore unto Isaac twins, Esau and Jacob (xxv, 21-26). It is also written that Jacob wandered by reason of famine, but returned unto the land of his forefathers, where he found at the well Rachel, the daughter of Laban, Rebekah's brother (xxix, 10); and that Jacob loved Rachel and served Laban for her seven years, when Laban deceived him and gave unto him his elder daughter, Leah (xxix, 23), for it was the law of the country not to give in marriage the younger before the firstborn, and that Jacob kept Leah, and served yet seven other years for Rachel (xxix, 30), who also was barren until a miracle was done, when she bore unto Jacob, Joseph (xxx, 22-24), son of his age, younger than his sons by Leah, and Bilhah, Rachel's maid, and Zilpah, Leah's maid, all princes of Israel; and that after many days Rachel died in bearing unto Jacob, Benjamin (xxxv, 16-18), the son of his old age. This scripture means much to the anthropologist. It establishes polygyny and tribal endogamy, demonstrates descent in the male line and wife-purchase by goods or service, indicates marital laws covering concubinage and the order of marriage, defines patriarchy with an

¹ A preliminary outline.

inchoate land tenure, and suggests gentile endogamy with some of its consequences.

Many of the marriage customs of the American aborigines run parallel with those of the patriarchs, and the two series of regulations and observances are mutually explanatory, though it is to be remembered that the Syrian patriarchs were more advanced than the occidental natives, having passed the nomadic stage of herding into semi-sedentary stock-raising and agriculture, and having well entered on the path leading up from barbaric culture through patriarchal feudalism toward national organization.

Among the Omaha Indians, according to Dorsey, the organization is gentile—*i. e.*, descent is reckoned in the male line,—though traces of clan organization or mother-descent persist in certain rights inhering in the woman, such as ownership of the tipi; tribal endogamy prevails, so that marriage outside the tribe is forbidden, though the rare infractions of this regulation are commonly condoned; gentile exogamy is more strictly enforced, so that marriage within the gens is a crime punished by ostracism or weightier penalty; polyandry or plurality of husbands is unknown, though polygyny is customary, the maximum number of wives being commonly limited to three, usually consanguinii. In the first marriage the would-be groom pays court either directly or by proxy; when he speaks for himself he may or may not make presents to the girl and her parents; if his suit is plead through another, or if he is old or ungainly, he curries favor by presents to the girl and her kindred, and these presents, or their value in other goods, may be returned when the suitor is accepted. The second and third wives are taken with the approval and sometimes at the suggestion of the first, the custom, in this respect, being identical with that among the patriarchs of old. Among certain other Siouan tribes, at any rate since contact with white men, the parents or brothers receive a stipulated price for the girl in stock or goods, though a part of this value may be returned in a wedding feast.

According to Boas the Kwakiutl Indians of British Columbia, who have barely passed from clan organization into gentile organization, have the usual aboriginal regulations proscribing marriage within the gens and prescribing marriage within the tribe. Here the would-be groom begins his suit by sending messengers

to the girl's father, who if favorably disposed may demand fifty or more blankets to be paid at once and double that number to be paid after three months, when the suitor is allowed to live with his inamorata in the father-in-law's house. At this time the young man gives a feast to the tribe and receives fifty blankets from his father-in-law, who at the same time announces when he will refund the rest of the purchase-goods. Three months later the young man gives one hundred blankets more for permission to take his wife to his own home, and a feast is given to the tribe, in which the father-in-law conveys to the son-in-law his symbols of name, wealth, and power, and in which the young man distributes blankets among the guests; at the same time the bride receives her dowry of property and symbolic articles and makes presents to the tribe on behalf of her husband. In case of separation, the woman returns to her parents, and the father must repay twofold or threefold all that he has received from the son-in-law. Among the neighboring Salish Indians the suitor pays court for himself by going into the house of the girl's parents and sitting by the door, silent and fasting, for four days. For three days the parents abuse him in every way, but on the fourth day the mother gives him a mat to sit on, and on the evening of that day presents of food are exchanged between the parents of groom and bride, and soon after there is a wedding feast and valuable presents are made to the bride's parents by the groom, though these are returned later. Throughout the elder-women and chiefs play a prominent role in arranging the marriage, the feast, and the exchange of presents.

In the Seneca tribe, in which the organic unit was the clan and in which descent was reckoned in the female line, men and women might marry into any other clan, either in their own phratry or the other, but might not marry in their own clan; while polygyny was permitted to chiefs and other tribesmen of substance. The marriage was arranged by the suitor's parents, who consulted not only the parents of the girl, but the old women and men of the tribe. Acceptance was optional with the girl, who usually yielded to advice and inclination. If she looked with favor on the suitor she made a "wedding loaf" and offered it to him, when he was free to decline, though he usually accepted, and the marriage was then regarded as complete without further ceremonial. Neither the groom nor his relatives made

presents, nor was there any interchange of property save the gift of the loaf from the bride to the groom.

The organization and marital customs of the Zuñi are well known, chiefly through Cushing, who not only lived among the Indians, but was adopted into the tribe. Among the Zuñi descent is reckoned chiefly in the female line, with a tendency toward reckoning in the male line. In other respects the demotic unit is the clan. Accordingly this tribe occupies a lower plane in social development than the Salish, Kwakiutl, or Omaha, and perhaps lower than the Seneca. Among these Indians clan exogamy is perfect and gentile exogamy nearly so—*i. e.*, marriage to maternal kindred is prohibited absolutely, while odium attaches to marriage with paternal kindred. At the same time tribal endogamy is strict—*i. e.*, no such thing as marriage outside the tribe is recognized. Monogamy prevails; neither polyandry nor polygyny is known, and the power of divorce rests wholly with the woman. The initial movement toward union is usually made by the maiden (rarely by the youth), through kindly greetings, smiles, and various small courtesies, most of which are carefully regulated by custom and current instruction from the older people; the more definite overtures are commonly made by the female relatives of the would-be bride to the mother or aunt of the chosen one, and commonly the young man is not slow in seconding the ceremonial advances of the maiden and the kinswomen. At this stage the budding match is carefully considered by the elder-men as well as the elder-women, who deliberate over and discuss the probable effect on tribal welfare, and their deliberations are aided and guided by shamanistic divination. If opinion and augury are adverse, they dissuade the couple, and if need be exercise the power of veto; if the horoscope is favorable, they play the matchmaker and encourage both maiden and youth by advice and the examples crystallized in legend, but they cannot compel marriage if either party definitively refuses. There are no purchase-price and no disposition to regard the contemplated change in estate as a business transaction between the parties in interest, and no miscellaneous presents; yet so soon as the would-be bride's kinswomen and the old people indicate their approval, certain duties devolve on the young man: He must work in the field of his prospective mother-in-law, that his strength and industry may be tested; he must collect fuel and

deposit it near the maternal domicile, that his disposition as a provider may be made known; he must chase and slay the deer and make from an entire buckskin a pair of moccasins for the bride, and from other skins and textiles a complete feminine suit, to the end that his skill in hunting, skin-dressing, and weaving may be displayed; and finally he must fabricate or obtain for the maiden's use a necklace of seashell or of silver, in order that his capacity for long journeys or successful barter may be established; but if circumstances prevent him from performing these duties actually he may perform them symbolically, and such performance is usually acceptable to the elder-people. After these preliminaries are completed, he is formally adopted by his wife's parents, yet remains merely a perpetual guest, subject to dislodgment at his wife's behest, though he cannot legally withdraw from the covenant; if dissatisfied, he can only so ill-treat wife or children as to compel his own expulsion.

The once considerable Seri stock has been reduced to a single tribe by reason of deep-seated animosity to alien peoples and constant warfare. They are probably the most primitive people in North America, and their disposition is so savage and treacherous that they remain nearly unknown to scientific students. Fortunately some information concerning their social customs and characteristics has recently been obtained, from which it appears that their demotic unit is the clan, that descent is reckoned exclusively in the female line, and that their simple house-bowers and other stable property (chiefly rude stone implements, ollas, and a few baskets) belong to the housewives. Theoretically their marriage relation is monogamous, though since the great reduction of the warriors through ceaseless strife a sort of tentative and indefinite polygyny has grown up; theoretically also clan exogamy prevails, yet there are indications that during recent years the clans are partially broken down and some of the marital relations dependent thereon relaxed; while tribal endogamy is probably more complete than in any other American tribe now extant—in Seri ethics the deepest vice is conjugal relation with alien peoples, just as the noblest virtue is the shedding of alien blood. The definite marital arrangements (which relate wholly to the first marriage and do not extend to subsequent polygynous unions) are not known, so far as the initial movement is concerned, but the matter soon comes under the

cognizance of the older people, especially, the kinswomen of the prospective bride. At this stage the prospective groom is a rather apathetic suitor, whose claims are presented chiefly by his older female relatives, when, if the suit is favorably regarded by the maiden's mother and uncles, he is provisionally installed as a member of the family without ceremony, without any suggestion of purchase-price, and without presents. He is then expected to earn a permanent place in the maiden's family by two tests—one material, one moral,—*i. e.*, *first*, by demonstrating his ability as a provider, and, *second*, by establishing his probity as an implacable foe to alien blood. In order to pass the first test he must vigorously enter into the chase and support all the female members of the family, with their dependents, by the products of his skill and industry in hunting and fishing, for a full round of the seasons—*i. e.*, for a year, according to the crude time-measure of the Seri. At the same time he becomes the general protector of the mother and other female relatives, and the special protector of the maiden, whose bower and pelican-skin blanket he shares, not as spouse but as continent comrade, for the same round of seasons, when; if this ordeal of tribal fidelity and self-control is passed, and the test of his ability as a provider is satisfactory, he is formally installed in the family as a permanent consort-guest, and his children are added to the clan of his mother-in-law.¹

¹ While the marital regulations and observances of the Seri Indians stand in definite serial relation to those of many other peoples, the student will properly observe that they represent a stage not clearly discovered among other peoples—*i. e.*, an extrapolate stage, so far as the known series is concerned; and accordingly it seems needful to note in some detail the source of information. There are two Seri Indians known to speak the Spanish language, viz, Colusio and Mashem' (alias Francisco Estorga, nicknamed "Palado"). Colusio resides in the Mexican-Yuki village called Pueblo Seri, or on the other side of the river in Hermosillo, the capital of Sonora, and has not lived with his tribe since early youth and is regarded by them as an outlaw. Mashem, who was taught Spanish many years ago by missionaries under the direction of Señor Pascual Encinas, lives with the tribe on Tiburon island and the adjacent mainland, has a wife and children and one or two supernumerary wives, and is in every respect, save in that he wears a hat and knows an alien tongue, a typical Seri Indian in knowledge, disposition, and custom. In addition there is an aged dame, the elder-woman in one of the leading clans, known on the Mexican frontier as Juana Maria, who has some knowledge of Spanish. On November 6-10, 1894, the writer visited a rancheria, including about sixty Seri men, women, and children, temporarily established near Rancho de San Francisco de Costa Rica, belonging to Señor Encinas, on the Seri frontier (cf. National Geographic Magazine, vol. vii, p. 125, pl. xiv), accompanied by Señor Alvimar-Leon as Spanish interpreter and Mr William Dinwiddie as photographer. Both Mashem and Juana Maria were of the group. A large number of portrait and group photographs were secured, this being, so far as known, the second time that Seri Indians were ever

These instances, of which all but the last are chosen nearly at random, fall into a natural order defined by culture-grade. The first place is occupied by the ancient patriarchs; the next place is occupied by the Omaha Indians, with the Kwakiutl a little lower; still lower stand the Salish and the Seneca; on about the same plane as the Seneca the Zuñi find place, and lowest of all, so far as the American aborigines, and indeed the aboriginal peoples of the world are definitely known, is the place of the Seri. The several peoples may be regarded as representing typical stages in the development of marital regulations and observances; and while the peoples are so distinct as to negate the assumption that the stages belong to a single continuous series, it would seem

photographed and the first time that satisfactory pictures were made. A considerable part of each day was devoted by the writer to collecting a vocabulary, with the aid of Señor Alvarado-Leon, Mashem, and sometimes Juana Maria, and usually quite a group of Seri men and women were gathered about, and to these Mashem frequently appealed, while they constantly expressed approval or disapproval of the repetition of the terms, so that the opportunities for eliminating the personal equation in pronunciation were exceptionally good. In connection with inquiries concerning vocables, and while the attention of the Indians was absorbed in this (to them) innocent amusement, questions were asked concerning the applications of the terms in such order as to elicit all possible information concerning the industrial arts, games, social organization, beliefs, and customs of the tribe, and this information was jotted down. The extent of the information may be judged from the fact that in the course of the half dozen interlocutions full details were obtained (for the first time) of the wanton killing of two Americans on Tiburon island a few months before. In an early conference the information set forth above concerning the Seri marriage custom was incidentally brought out. Señor Alvarado-Leon and one or two bystanders expressed surprise and amusement at the naive statement concerning the moral test, but their attention was purposely diverted lest some suspicion on the part of the Indians might be raised and they might thereby be rendered secretive. Then, during two later conferences, when both Mashem and Juana Maria were present, and when other Seri women were near by and freely participating, the line of inquiry was so turned as to touch on different aspects of the essential features in their marriage customs, and all the information thus obtained on three different days was consistent. On January 3, 1896, the writer spent half a day in Hermosillo with Colusio, who described his meeting with Commissioner John Russell Bartlett on December 31, 1851, and recounted the circumstances connected with his giving of a Seri vocabulary (the best extant previous to 1894) to Commissioner Bartlett. It was ascertained that while Colusio remembers enough of his mother tongue to act as a rather unsatisfactory interpreter, he has not lived among his people since his infancy, considerably more than half a century ago, and knows nothing concerning the Seri beliefs, social organization, marriage customs, mortuary customs, etc, specific inquiries concerning such matters eliciting either no information at all or information evidently relating to the Yaki Indians, with whom he has associated intimately throughout nearly all his life. Colusio is now (1896) about seventy-five years old (Commissioner Bartlett estimated his age at about thirty in 1851). His statements indicate that the commissioner was misinformed as to his residence with the Seri in 1851, and that he was then, as for several years before and nearly all the time since, domiciled with Yaki Indians (cf. "Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents . . . connected with the United States and Mexican Boundary Commission, . . . by John Russell Bartlett, United States Commissioner," 1854, vol. 1, pp. 463-466).

fair to consider them as normal steps in human development, just as the Seven Ages caught in poetic vision by the Bard of Avon stand for the life-history of a man, or much as the phylogeny of a species is epitomized in the ontogeny of the organism. Accordingly the growth of marriage throughout the greater part of its course is depicted in these stages and in intermediate steps, of which many are known, in such manner as to be retraceable backward or forward with considerable confidence.

Let the record be traced forward; and let its beginning be scanned with special care. The record begins with a discrete group of people welded by consanguinity and bound by community in language, in arts, and in beliefs—a group comprising a single great family of women whose lives and whose blood are sacred unto the family, and of warlike spouses whose hands are against all other men; in each conjugal family of parents and their progeny the wife and mother is queen, the owner of the meager property, the distributor of food, the controller of the comings and goings of children, the adviser and dictator unto her consort-guest, and her just behests are enforced by her brothers—and as such all of her clansmen, young and old, are reckoned. When daughters grow up they remain with the mothers and take spouses, and so also do the granddaughters and the great-granddaughters in their turn, and thus each conjugal family grows into a clan. With the multiplication of clans in each such group in the past came occasion for dissension and separation; but now and then clans intermarried and thereby remained amicable, and consequently grew in strength; and, through survival of the fittest, intermarriage between clan and clan persisted. In the typical case of the Seri interclan marriage is continued in order that tribal union may be maintained; mating or even sporadic connection with aliens is absolutely prohibited, in order that the integrity of the tribe may be preserved; while monogamy, perhaps a heritage from bestial ancestry, is retained, partly as a fitting regal prerogative of the reigning wife and mother, partly as a provision against intestine strife, partly through the weakness of ill-developed conjugal instinct. It is especially significant that in this stage the man is a suitor not so much from personal inclination as from tribal incentive, and while mating is in minor measure an expression of mutual attachment, it is so regulated as to inure to the benefit of the tribe; and it is to this

end that the qualities of the groom-elect are tested to the satisfaction of the feminine legislators and their fraternal administrators in each family and clan. Thus, in this initial stage, marriage is primarily a collective institution for the benefit of the group, and individual caprice is so far subordinated to demotic welfare as to be constantly blasted in the bud ; accordingly there are no presents to curry favor, no purchase-price, no exchange of property (of which there is practically none), nothing but the test of fitness (1) for contributing to the support of the clan, and (2) for protecting the lives of the tribe from foemen's attacks and the blood of the tribe from contamination. In this stage the conjugal characteristics of the somewhat superficial sort commonly noted are (1) actual or constructive monogamy ; (2) presumptively strict clan exogamy ; (3) absolute tribal endogamy, and (4) the complete absence of the idea of purchase. These characteristics stand for the primitive form of marriage, so far as known in America ; yet it is worthy of special note that the essential and fundamental characteristic is the collective motive under which marriage is prescribed for the welfare of the group, rather than inspired by individual appetite and selfish inclination.

The successively higher stages may be lightly touched : In that represented by the pacific and undoubtedly composite Zuñi tribe the organization remains essentially maternal, and the chief modification is the relaxation of the fierce tribal endogamy and the abandonment (save in a curious vestigeal form which need not here be developed) of the moral test of the prospective groom, though the material test persists ; monogamy also persists, though rather through inertia than legislation, and in such wise that its infraction would be considered bizarre or grotesque, or even insane, rather than criminal, while clan exogamy is strictly enforced. So, too, the would-be bride is the chief suitor, and in large measure the motive remains collective rather than individual, and the mating is regulated largely by the elder-women and their brothers, with the aid of the shamans ; and it is especially significant that one of the duties of the elders and shamans is to fan the feeble personal inclination and encourage boldness, and that certain ceremonials typifying the fecundity of the earth and the leading people thereof are of highly suggestive character. Essentially the same stage appears to be represented by the

Tarahumari Indians of northern Mexico, among whom, according to Lumholtz, the maiden is a persistent wooer, employing a repertoire of really exquisite love songs to soften the heart of the reluctant swain, yet is finally successful only in a public ceremonial in which her charmer is intoxicated.¹ Essentially the same stage, too, is represented by the Seneca Indians, a tribe more warlike than the Zuñi and Tarahumari, though less so than the Seri, and among whom mother-descent holds even today on their reservation surrounded by white men. Under these conditions in this stage clan exogamy persists and tribal endogamy remains a clearly established law, though with regulated sanctions for its suspension in warfare or for federate benefit, while the monogamic law is definitely crystallized, though relaxed in the special cases of chiefs and other leading men, presumptively at first through conditions arising in the taking of female captives; at the same time mating is a collective rather than an individual function, regulated by the elder-women and other leaders, though not at all to the exclusion of personal choice; and although the real overture appears to initiate with the prospective groom, the tangible and ceremonial overture comes from the would-be bride in the form of a wedding loaf. Here, too, the marriage is characterized by absence of presents and all semblance of purchase-price, while the material and moral tests are apparently superseded by the judgment of the elders and the divination of the shamans.

Of such are the marital regulations and customs among typical American tribes organized on the basis of mother-descent. The characteristic features are monogamy (incomplete only in the higher stage), clan exogamy, and tribal endogamy (also modified in the higher stage); and their essential qualities—which it is the purpose of this writing to enunciate—seem to be the collective motive coupled with absence of purchase, and rudimentary or inchoate personal inclination, save possibly toward maternity.

In the stage represented by the Indians of British Columbia, as described by Boas, in which mother-descent is merged with

These ceremonials of the southwestern aborigines of this continent are of special interest as indices to the development of a remarkable Bacchanalian or Aphrodisian cult, well known in the Orient, apparently, and, in view of the collective motive evidently developed to the end that the tribes and peoples might be encouraged to increase and multiply and possess the fecund earth.

or passed into paternal organization, many survivals and some modifications of primitive marriage are found: The moral test of the Seri seems to be lost, save for a curious vestige in the antenuptial treatment of the groom among the Salish, while the material test is transmuted, particularly among the Kwakiutl, into a display of accumulated fruits of industry on the part of the groom and a temporary exchange of property, without anything approaching real purchase; and the would-be groom is the suitor. At the same time the laws of monogamy, clan exogamy, and tribal endogamy seem to be materially relaxed. In this stage, too, the power of divorce, hitherto residing in the woman, is modified by the fixing of a penalty in the form of a fine on her parents; so, too, the primary motive for mating is personal inclination, though expressions of the collective motive appear in the public character of the wooing, in the participation of the elders, and in the transmuted tests of the suitor. Similarly in the stage, or the succession of substages, represented by the Omaha and neighboring Siouan Indians, a combination of survivals and modifications of primitive marriage is found; both clan exogamy and tribal endogamy persist, with extensive sanctions for suspension; the monogamic principle is almost wholly lost and polygyny or concubinage is general, with certain limitations fixed by material considerations. In this stage the groom is the suitor (though there are significant vestiges of the more primitive condition in certain customs), and the husband assumes the power of divorce and of punishment for infidelity, and wheresoever polygyny is well established a part or all of the wives are practically enslaved. In this stage, too, the making of presents to curry favor, and even actual wife-purchase, become conspicuous. Conversely to these modifications, the collective motive for control of mating is feeble or lost, and individual inclination or baser appetite becomes dominant. Between this stage and that represented by the patriarchs of old there are many parallels. In Syria the social organization was paternal, and clan exogamy and tribal endogamy were preferred, though often neglected; polygyny and definite concubinage were common, and monogamy seems to have been rather accidental than otherwise; while, conformably, the man was the suitor, the holder of the power of divorce, and the practical enslaver of the supernumerary wives and concubines. Here, too, the collective

motive was obsolescent, though significant vestiges remained, *e. g.*, in the sending of a servant into the land of the forefathers to find a fit wife for the son. Coupled with other modifications, there was a fairly definite wife-purchase in the form either of suitable presents or adequate service to the maiden's kindred. A significant extension of tribal exogamy with concurrent elimination of clan endogamy (perhaps characteristic of nomadism) appears in the customary consanguinity between the patriarchs and their consorts.

Of such are the marital regulations and observances among several peoples reckoning kinship largely or wholly in the male line. The characteristics are limited or unlimited polygyny, with vestigial rather than actual clan exogamy and tribal endogamy, together with, at least in the higher stages, complete subordination or even partial enslavement of women; while the typical quality of marriage in these stages is no longer the collective motive so much as personal inclination.

Recapitulating the history of marriage as read from typical stages, chiefly American, it would appear that human mating began in rather apathetic monogamy (with possible antecedent polyandry) coupled with strict tribal endogamy, accompanied or soon followed by clan exogamy;¹ that the mother was at first the dominant member of the consanguineous family, shaping the destiny of the clan through the aid of clan brothers; and that the mating was regulated by collective motive rather than individual caprice. It would also appear that as the clans grew into tribes and confederacies, and paternal organization was developed, polygyny sprung and waxed, while the tribal endogamy and in turn the clan exogamy more gradually waned; that the collective motive gradually faded and gave place to individual caprice, with a growing tendency toward wife-purchase and concomitant degradation of woman; and that this change from the general to the personal was accompanied by the differentiation of virility and muliebrity, sometimes to an extravagant and maleficent

¹ The widespread fallacy that human marriage began in promiscuity and evolved toward monogamy has been admirably corrected by Westermarck in his epoch-marking work on "The history of human marriage," published in several editions and translations. The course of development of marital institutions is outlined by the writer in a preliminary sketch of "The Siouan Indians" (Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology for 1893-'94 [1896], pp. 201-203).

degree. Finally, it would appear that the course of development was shaped at each stage by the survival of the fittest among the groups, under the conditions by which they were severally environed; and it may be noted that vestigial traces of all of the primitive stages, especially of the later, may be perceived in the modern conjugal system of exoteric monogamy, with sequential plurality of consorts and esoteric promiscuity.

Summarizing the tendencies revealed in this history, it would appear that the course of evolution has been from the simple to the complex, from the definite to the indefinite, from the general to the special, from the fixed to the variable, from the involuntary to the voluntary, from the mechanical to the spontaneous, from the provincial to the cosmopolitan, or, in brief, from the chiefly biotic to the wholly demotic.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo. By Henry Ling Roth. Two volumes, large 8°, pp. 464-540. Over 550 illustrations, and map. London, Truslove & Hanson; New York, Truslove & Comba. Price, £3 (\$15).

In these two large and admirably printed volumes we have a laborious and excellent presentation of all the anthropological material known of the native tribes of North Borneo—the Dyaks, Malays, Sarawaks, etc. Much of it is from unpublished sources, especially the notes of H. B. Low, who possessed an intimate knowledge of the natives, and those of Archdeacon Perham, who had lived among them as a missionary. Much of it, also, is translated from Dutch sources not likely to come to the knowledge of the English reader, and from other out-of-the-way authorities.

Mr Andrew Lang contributes a preface in his usual cheery vein, and the numerous well-printed engravings and photogravures render the volumes highly attractive to the eye. The author examines all the features of native life. He begins with the always indispensable geographical information about their location, passes to their physical traits, refers to their character, their families, and marriage ties, the disposal of the dead, their religion, medicine men, legends, daily life, agriculture, hunting and fishing. This occupies the first volume.